RUSSIA, THE JEWS AND THE UNITED STATES

Revelations by an Ex-Diplomatist Let Daylight In Upon the Dispute Over the Passport Question-Czar's Government Once on the Point of Repealing Restrictions Against Foreign Jews in Russia

the United States have fallen out, with and the best way of composing them. have but a mere inkling of the issues.

The reason is that in this case truth lay The reason is that in this case truth lay to display itself would be short lived. at the bottom not indeed of a well but of a That in brief was the tenor of Mr. Roosedouble-locked safe in the ministerial archives of St. Petersburg. But happily the gist of what these archives record was transmitted to Washington during to take cognizance of its contents. They the troublous times of the Russian revo- agreed that there was no need to take lutionary struggle and shall presently be brought into the light of day. The motive for which this is being done is not to sow discord between the two peoples or aggravate their ruffled feeling. Far from that. The writer is sincerely desirous of bringing them together anew and contributing to restore those friendly relations between them which existed without a break almost since the Republic was first proclaimed. "To know everything is to forgive everything," says a French philosopher, and perhaps when the true state of things hitherto suppressed becomes known to both parties, the knowledge may serve to bridge the chasm which now separates them.

The bone of contention is Russia's refusal to receive American citizens of the Jewish race and faith on the same footing. as American citizens of Christian creeds. We asked that the humiliating distinctions which now exist should be abolished and we stiffened our request with telling arguments.

At first Russia gave us a retort rather than an answer.

"You," she said, "preach a doctrine which you shrink from practising. You yourselves enacted a law which bars out millions of our Moslem subjects. There- her hand to the plough, it would be superfore it is not for you to carp at our restrictive regulations."

But that was only her first reply. There was also a second. This is a crucial point which the reader would do well to bear in mind. For there was an amended answer which came later and which is the pivot of my present case for the United States. Hardly anybody in this country

Answer Not Conclusive.

Of course there is force in Russia's tu quoque. That cannot be gainsaid. But it is not conclusive. For her millions of Mahommedan subjects play no great part in her national life. They may be hardworking and industrious-patient Caryatides, if you will-but they are not the enterprising pioneers who carry on her trade with the outside world, advance her industry, create her capital or make things hum. Whether the few of them who ever the Atlantic are received in the United States or not is a matter of utter indifference to the Czar's Government.

It is not the Mahommedans who journey abroad bearing with them seeds of culture, fine mental gifts and moral qualities. Therefore it is unfair to compare them with our citizens of Jewish race who do play a part in our material and moral progress—and a big part. And by deny ing them admission to an emptre which stretches over one-sixth of the globe the Czar's Ministers deal a painful blow to them and to us. It is an embargo on our foreign trade as well as a slur on our national dignity. There is therefore no parity between Russia's Mahommedans

the comparison. A diplomatist who should miss this point would not be worth his salt. But it needs little acumen to see that this is a case where we must weigh heads rather than count them.

There is one other little matter on which some stress may properly be laid. It is this: In human relations rights are not everything. Often indeed they amount to very little. To extract one's pound of flesh even though it be an indisputable right may sometimes be unwise or even criminal. Nations, like individuals can live in harmony only by applying the principle of give and take in a broad. humane spirit. And what we regret is precisely the lack of this spirit in the attitude adopted not so much by the Russian people as by a few of Russia's statesmen. Fortunately those officials are not fixtures; they are here to-day and gone to-morrow and political wisdom will not die with

And now to facts. Russia, I stated, gave two very different answers to our denands for the repeal of the humiliating distinction made between American citizens by her passport regulations. The first answer was a retort. The second was acquiescence. Strange though it sounds, it is true, Russia consented to abandon the position she had taken upon the subject and to adopt ours.

Of this change there can be no doubt. It was no mere promise made to humor us for a time. It never took the form of an official promise at all. It was not undertook the work at the suggestion and haps is a hopeful sign, because it holds even the result of our representations. It was no even the result of our representations. It with the approval of his colleague, Gen. out the perspective of M. Durnovo getting was a conversion. Sincerity character—Trepoff, who was then regarded as the reconverted anew. ized Russia's conversion and the causes which effected it were intrinsical. The scales had fallen from her eyes and she beheld or thought she beheld her own

Our Relations With Russia.

The first change in Russo-American clumsiness. When hostilities broke out law grounded. in 1904 the sympathes of America were This was welcome news to Americans.

and subsequently when M. Witte was leavibe suspected of a leaning toward the "explanations" of the law, and the effect Jones one day and spoiled a whole comedy ing Oyster Bay for Europe, the President | Jews.

ment become sinister. There is hardly one Congressman in ten who does not think he knows all about their differences and the best way of composing them. and the best way of composing them.
Yet the ins and outs of the subject in dispute have never been adequately unfolded to the public of either country.

For it counters their sense of right and wrong. Unless this humiliating distinctions of the subject in the sense of the sense of right and wrong. Even the best informed people, therefore, tion be removed, he concluded, the cordiality of feeling which was just beginning

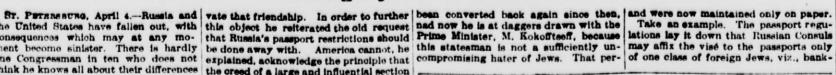
velt's missive. The Russian Emperor perused the President's letter and handed it to his Ministers special action with regard to it. And the grounds of their decision were adequate. The question which Mr. Roosevelt raised had been settled, as he would soon see. Virtually Russia was now at one with America

Spontaneously and without any pressure from outside the Czar's Government had laid a bill before the Council of the Empire introducing new passport regulations and abolishing the old restrictions as obsolete and mischievous. The Minister of the Interior, having studied certain data which had been submitted to the Council of the Empire by the commission, felt convinced that anti-Jewish legislation in the matter of passports was detrimental to Russia and should on that account be abolished in favor of the principle (now adopted) that all foreigners whatever their creeds and races should be admitted indiscriminately to the empire. This was all that the most sanguine among us could have hoped for.

Causes of the Conversion.

Tidings of this conversion duly reached Washington and had a soothing effect upon politicians there. Our politicians understood that as Russia had already set fluous for her to give us any oral assurances. So we were satisfied to wait. At first the notion prevailed that it was American diplomacy which had scored a victory and that Mr. Roosevelt's letter had turned the scales. This delusion was dispelled by the announcement, sent over I think by a member of our Embassy, that the Russian Government had drafted its bill on May 5 and therefore months before President Roosevelt had written his letter to the Czar.

American Jews were sceptical at first And even after their misgivings had vanished they were still critical. Who, they asked, had got this new bill on the anvil? If it was the Liberal party, one might reasonably fear that the Conserva-tives would come forward and balk their efforts. If it was M. Witte, the outlook was nearly as bad. But as it happened, neither that statesman nor the Liberal party had a finger in the pie. It was a Conservative of the Conservatives, the Minister of the Interior, M. Bulyghin, who had taken the initiative. And he





TYPE OF MAN UNCLE SAM REFUSES TO ADMIT.

Moreover, it was not sympathy for the Jews that actuated them. It was nothing so sentimental as that. A body of facts draughted report on the subject to the salvation in the doctrine which down to gathered from every frontier station in Cabinet. Its recommendations were disthen she had been condemning as baleful. Russia nad convinced them that the pre- cussed by the Ministers, among whom demoralizing. Bribery, corruption and Grand Duke Alexander Mikkailovitch, a general weakening of moral responsi- who at that moment occupied the post cordial relations was the result partly bility were some of the consequences that of director-general of the mercantile shot at public houses and the cheapest of Japanese diplomacy and partly of the flowed from them. On those grounds and marine. All those statesmen were in Russian Ambassador's (M. Cassini's) not on any ethical principle was the new favor of sweeping away the passport

virtual ditator of Russia.

entirely with Japan. And it was not until both Jews and Gentiles, for it seemed to eigners. And their readiness to adopt Furniss. Her father soudded over to a the conference at Portsmouth that the show that Russia had gone the right this radical measure was well grounded Russia's plentipotentiary, way about the matter and that the M. Witte, on the one hand and Mr. Roose- grievances would be remedied at last. Interior, had shown that so long as the velt on the other then laid the foundations There had been a commission to study passport regulations were upheld strictly of friendship and the Czar's Government the subject in all its bearings and this trade and commerce, which were con- Furniss. "I recall that Henry Arthur had only to build on them. But it did not build on them. But it did not was the result of the inquiry. The combuild.

Was the result of the inquiry. The commission was presided over by P. N. Durhands, suffered considerably. Friction Wood some years ago and sat himself is a man who knows how to use his sun-When the treaty of peace was signed novo, an extreme Conservative—one of too of a political kind was of frequent down to write comedies. He worked in a shine."

Passport System's Defects.

The commission presented a carefully vailing regulations were foolish and was his Majesty's brother-in-law, the restrictions against the Jews and putting them on the same footing as other for-Experience, said the Minister of the

handed him a letter for his sovereign. In that letter Col. Roosevelt gave utterrance to the friendly feelings of Americans for Bussia and to the nation's desire to culti
The results of these interpretations was to relax it. See the red stringency. And the "explanations" haired woman in that picture. Well, that which were at bottom new laws, offered with the side of the Hebrews to the extent of being ready to strike off these so many loopholes of escape that the limitations had ceased to exist in reality has do fthat? Well, she was an Epps."

The red control of the red woman in that picture. Well, that which were at bottom new laws, offered was Tadema's wife. He used her many boy. They spoil your illusions. That's a great picture, but the Bonheur wasn't as careful as she might have been.

firms. All other members of that race Jones or Robinson came under the "cate- at least in its foreign aspect be settled at engaged in trade have to obtain a per- gories." Then, when a sheaf of docu- once and in the only efficacious way mit from the Minister of the Interior ments was delivered by the post, the possible by setting foreign Jews who before the Consul may set the seal on Consul could never tell whether the state- wish to visit Russia on the same footing the passport. But this Draconian measure ments made by the Jewish applicants as foreign Christians. caused trouble. The Germans were up were true or false and he had no means in arms against it. The Hungarians of ascertaining. And it often happened did not those good intentions get realized? resented it. America kicked against that applicants declared that they had What made Russia neglect her own init. And then came the administrative no religion at all. In these cases the terests? What advantage did she after-"explanations."

ister, drew up new passport regulations critically at his features and then decide sate for the evils it engendered? which were ratified by the Czar but never | whether or not he was a Jew and treat him | which were ratified by the Czar but never whether or not he was a Jew and treat him published. The Minister, however, saw that they were applied. Under the The upshot of all that was, according to famous manifesto of October 17 creating sometimes as hard to get out.

ers and heads of well known important firms were registered and whether Brown. Russia's interests that the Jewish problem

KOKOVSOFF

tiny Meissonier hung high.

have such masterpieces on the line."

missioners, representatives, clerks and

agents of all such firms were to be in-

plained" that it would never do to limit

missioners, &c. Consequently their name

kinds of incongruities, because it had a series of dangerous gaps. For example,

it made no mention of people trading

on their own account who were not at

the head of any firm or of commercia

travellers. These people were excluded

from Russia, theoretically at least, and

they were always complaining. So the

last state of things was worse than the

To Remove All Restrictions.

the Minister of the Interior, that every Jew who asked received a passport. He did not get it at once, of course. Indeed it often happened that it was withheld until the object for which he wanted to go to Russia no longer existed. Still the law had become a dead letter. It led to bribery, corruption and many other in the eyes of her rulers endanger the demoralizing practices, but not to the régime, undermine the morality or impeir exclusion of the Jews. That being so, the material well being of the nation, we argued the Minister, there is but one of cannot reasonably blame them for crying two courses open; either to make the passport regulations more severe and to pay the price—a heavy commercial loss, un-pleasant friction with foreign Powers, enormous additional work for Russian officials and no setoff worth mentioning the equalization of the rights of the Jev or else to cancel the restrictions.

of foreign Jews into Russia be repealed. That was also the conviction of the chief There and then he laid before the Council of the Conservative opposition, M. Dura rough draft of the new passport regula-novo, who presided over the commission tions, containing seven clauses of which which reported on the subject. only two deal with the Jews, one indirectly, the other directly. Here they are literally translated from the copy which was communicated (on May 31, 1905) to Washington:

"The passports which are not to be vised for travel in Russia are: (1) those of members of the order of the Jesuits; (2) of individuals who are forbidden ad-

for foreigners."

That was the new law. It met with the of the members of the committee. Who were these statesmen? Liberals who had obtained office by some fluke and only provoke a recoil. were afterward disavowed by the Government? In no wise. They were the most trusted and certainly the best known discovered. To use argument now there is discovered. To use argument now the fire words bankers and heads of well known

most trusted and certainty the best and will discovered. To use argument now the fire fore would be to attempt to warm the fire it is tact which is needed. Where remonstrates the contract of the cont revolutionists; Admiral Avellan, acting abyss that still separates Russia's good intentions from legislative acts. cluded. Later on it was further 'ex- Minister of Justice; M. Bulyghin, a strong Conservative, who was then Minister of the the number of these clerks, agents, com- Interior and enjoyed the confidence of stein, the well known Sun translator of the Czar; M. Kokovtseff, who was Minister Russian fiction and newspaper corre was legion. But this law gave rise to all of Finance, and who is now Prime Minister spondent, procured a passport from the of the Russian Empire, and the Emperor's State Department at Washington, had it brother-in-law the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch.

The Law Pigeonholed.

It is worthy of remark that the Grand Duke went a step beyond the others and called for an immediate alleviation of the position of Russia's domestic Jews as well as of their foreign brethren.

In a word, there was no dissentient roice. They had all studied the report Russian Consuls too were in a sad of the commission under M. Durnovo, plight. They had to decide offhand what

Why, the inquisitive American will ask, ill starred representative of the Russian ward discover in the maintenance of Mr. Vyshnegradsky, the Finance Min- Emperor had to send for each person, look the old law precious enough to compen-

a legislative assembly and appointing Count Witte to be Prime Minister. The new Cabinet found countless bills in the pigeonholes of the Council of the Empire waiting some for discussion, others for amendments, and others only for ratification by the Char. The question arose, What is to be done with them? The Cabinet decided that they should all be referred to the Duma except those which were of an urgent character. Then the bills were classified and returned each one to the Minister who had presented it with instructions that he was to lay it before the Duma.

But as it chanced none of the Minister. was in office when the Durna assembled Witte himself was succeeded by Goremy. witte himself was succeeded by Goremy-kin first and by Stolypin afterward. M Stolypin seemed favorable to the measure when he first took office but in time he modified his view and shelved the bill which the Council had approved and passed. It can be brought in to-morrow if the Government wishes. Meanwhile Mr. Taft visited Russia.

When talking with statesmen in St. Petersburg he touched upon the passport regulations and reiterated the desire so often expressed by Americans that the unjustifiable distinction made between Jews and gentiles should be discontinued Hopeful answers were returned, but sof words butter no parsnips—and the words he then heard have remained words until

Those are the facts. The conclusion: that may be drawn from them had bebe left to the public. One remark how ever, presses for utterance. Russia can not be asked to adopt for the sake of th United States a measure which is either derogatory to her dignity or harmful is her interests. Therefore, if the admihalt. That is not only their right but their duty.

Such, however, is not the case. Russia perceives that her best interests lie in the same direction as our ardent wish in ish and the Christian foreigner. That is On those grounds the Minister, M. Bulyghin, moved that all restrictions devised with a view to checking the influx 1905, and he has not changed since them. 1905, and he has not changed since then.

As the people of the United States were on Russia's part to give some explanation to our representatives why our hopes were not fulfilled. Technically, of course, Russia was under no obligation to con-(2) of individuals who are forbidden admission to the empire; (8) of persons whom the embassies, legations and consulates deem objectionable; (4) of people who have neither a fixed occupation nor means of livelihood."

The other clause runs thus: "Jews, subjects of foreign States, who are travelling to Russia, are subject to the general passport regulations which have been enacted for foreigners."

Werse with us on the subject. But here the question of strict rights and the pound of flesh crops up again. Anyhow, we had some grounds for feeling by denouncing the treaty of commerce. But here the question of strict rights and the pound of flesh crops up again. Anyhow, we had some grounds for feeling by denouncing the treaty of commerce. But here the question of strict rights and the pound of flesh crops up again. Anyhow, we had some grounds for feeling by denouncing the treaty of commerce. But here the question of strict rights and the pound of flesh crops up again. Anyhow, we had some grounds for feeling by denouncing the treaty of commerce. But here we too are confronted with the same query: Is it right to exercise one's right to the full strict rights and the pound of flesh crops up again. Anyhow, we had some grounds for feeling by denouncing the treaty of commerce. But here we too are confronted with the same query: Is it right to exercise one's right to the full strict rights and the pound of flesh crops up again. Anyhow, we had some grounds for feeling by denouncing the treaty of commerce. But here we too are confronted with the same query: Is it right to exercise one's right to the full strict rights and the pound of flesh crops up again. Anyhow, we had some grounds for feeling by denouncing the treaty of commerce. But here we too are confronted with the same query:

I have a subject to the general passes and the question of strict rights and the pound of flesh crops up again. Anyhow, we had some grounds for feeling by denouncing the treaty of commerce. But here we too are confronted with the same query is verse with us on the subject. But here

prove that Russia is on the way to the That was the new law. It met with the full approval of the stateamen present, who constituted the Government; also of the members of the committee. Who

During January, 1911, Mr. Herman Berr viséd by the Russian Consul in New York and took a trip through Russia. The identical passport is shown in connection with this article. It is valid for two years It is identical in every detail with the passports Russia has repeatedly refused to honor as it suited the whims of a frontier official or a bureaucrat.

Recently Mr. Bernstein desired to visit Russia again. He applied to the Russian Consul in New York for another vise of his passport, still good for another year but was peremptorily refused. The reason given was that all passport agreements had been abrogated. So Mr. Bernstein experience is the most recent case point of the reactionary tactics of the Russian Government in connection with the passport question.

The stamp in the upper left hand corner of the pasaport significantly reads.

"When returning from Russia an authorization from the police is required to be produced at the frontier, or, if the stay was over six months, a Russian

HARRY FURNISS SKETCHES AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Continued from First Page.

all'sorts of men and women. Mr. Furniss selected types here and there and pursued them until his facile pencil had had its way. Occasionally he stopped before a painting to discuss the painter. Many of the artists whose work hangs in the museum were friends or acquaintances of his in the last forty years.

"I seem to know most people here save the old masters," said he.

A study of English rustic life-a swineherd and his pigs caught his attention. "That's a C. Moreland," said Furniss D'ye know, that man, and a genius he was, painted such pictures to pay his sor, of inns. He worked for drink and food. Too much drink, poor chap! Most of his pictures have come from taverns." "Oh, here's a Tadema," said Miss collection of Sir Alma-Tadema's paintings.

Ceiling Fell on Jones. "He was a neighbor of mine," said Mr. niss said:

Nicholas II. thanked Mr. Roosevelt for those who in their own country were occurrence. These drawbacks had in- room that Tadems had decorated. There Miss Furniss was keen to see Rosa Bonhis hearty and efficacious cooperation classified as reactionaries and could not variably necessitated administrative was a marvellous ceiling, but it fell on heur's "Horse Fair." Furniss studied it of these interpretations was to relax it. for im. Hard l ck, that. See the red birdlike manner.

of comment and breezy gossip. Rousseau and Millet held him for several minutes. "Think of the widow of Millet being sold up for debt," said he. "She was actually thrown into the roadway and here people are paying fortunes for a bit of her husband's work! Such things are

not right; now, are they? Millet was so poor he had to walk into Paris to offer Both Mr. Furniss and his daughter were enthusiastic over the work of the Spanish painter Sorolla. Of his large

canvas, "Reaching the Boat," Mr. Fur-"See that boatman's sunburned hand

a minute. Then he spoke up in his rapid

came to a full stop presently in front of a know how she got her idea of the way he "You must have quantity for your money should move, use his legs and all that sort It isn't that way abroad. In Parid once "You're evidently rich in pictures," he of thing? She hitched a big horse to a they were collecting Meissoniers from said, "when you can have a Meissonier cart and watched it perform. Then she districts. Men were sent out to cover cer up high and a Tadema over a doorway. painted the horse without the cart. The tain quarters for the works of Meissonie result is that in the picture the muscles of and other painters that were in great the hind legs are strained. You can see demand. One agent returned with an Every other gallery I know about would Mr. Furniss apparently knew a lot how they knot and how the leg strives to armful and threw them down. about every picture and the painter pull. Horses don't do that when they are moving without restraint.

"But where are your Meissoniers! thereof. He was an inexhaustible mine

moving without restraint.

Rosa Bonheur's Appearance.

"Wonderful woman, Rosa Bonheur.
Saw her once at Fontainebleau. Looked like a man. Wore men's clothes all the time and had a singularly powerful, masculine face. Well, she had a rough journey to fame. Learning her business she worked in a horse yard and in abattoirs, even cut up dead horses. That 'Horse Fair' is absolutely priceless."

asked his chief.

"Oh,' said the agent, 'here they are.' And he fumbled in his waistocat pocket. Fair' is absolutely priceless."

"Here's another Whistler, father." called Miss Furniss.

"Rubbish!" said Harry and moved on to a study of still life by William M. Chase. Both Furnisses were interested in Chase's work. Miss Furniss had seen him a few days previously dominating his art class. She got the idea that Chase is almost as great an actor as he is an artist. Chase's portrait of Sargent they admired im-

mensely.

An attendant passed near and Mr. Furniss hailed him.

"What sort of pictures do your visitors seem to like most?" he inquired. "The biggest ones," said the attendant. Mr. Furniss laughed heartly.

Darting restlessly about, Mr. Furniss | Observe that massive gray horse. D'ye; "Just like you Americans," he said

Cure for Baggy Trousers. "In pressing trousers," said the tailor.

"the first thing you want to do, before ironing in the creases, is to take out the bagginess at the knees. "To do this you turn the trousers inside

out and spread each leg on the ironing board, not as you lay them to press the creases, but exactly the other way, crosswise, from seam to seam, and then you lay on the damp cloth and press in the usual fashion with the hot iron.

"By this pressing you shrink the wool fibres of the cloth together again, where they had been punched out at the knees; you take out the bagginess; and then you turn the trousers right side out again and press for the oreases."